TWO THEBAN PRINCES

SONS OF RAMESES III

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COLIN CAMPBELL

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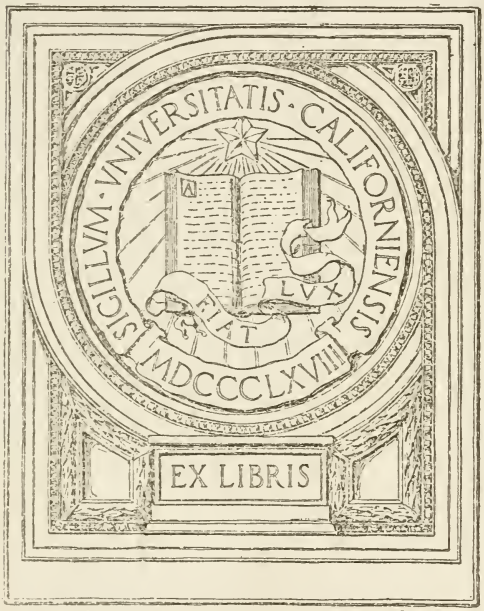

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TWO THEBAN PRINCES

Tomb of Amen-khepeshf. Hapi conducts the King. Qebhsennuf. The King. [*See page* 72.

Two Theban Princes

KHA-EM-UAST & AMEN-KHEPESHF

SONS OF RAMESES III.

MENNA, A LAND-STEWARD

And their Tombs

BY

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Carpenter

TO
THE DEAR MEMORY
OF
MY WIFE

NOTE

THIS little book is offered as a companion volume to *Two Theban Queens.* The Tombs of the Boy Princes, Kha-em-Uast and Amen-khepeshf, sons of Rameses III., (*c.* 1200-1169 B.C.), situated in the Valley of the Queens, Upper Egypt, and that of the Royal Land-Steward, Menna (earlier than 1300 B.C., Dyn. XVIII.), at Sheikh abd el Gourneh, have not, so far as the author knows, been hitherto described, except in brief notices in the ordinary guide-books. The last-mentioned tomb, besides being much more interesting archæologically, is vastly superior to the later tombs in art and workmanship. In all three, the colouring is vividly fresh, in spite of more than thirty centuries of age.

The principal hieroglyphic texts of the Royal Tombs are given in an Appendix.

EDINBURGH,
October 7, 1910.

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TWO THEBAN PRINCES

INTRODUCTION

RAMESES III., probably the Rhampsinitos of Herodotus (Bk. 2), who however places him anterior to the three great Pyramid Builders of Ghizeh, was, according to Prof. Petrie, the first king of Dynasty XX. (1202-1102 B.C.), Setnekht his father closing Dynasty XIX. Dr Budge supports this "move" on the dynastic chess-board; but Prof. Breasted advances Setnekht to the first place in Dynasty XX. The matter is of no great consequence. It is of more importance to note, that while Setnekht's origin is at present unknown, he was essentially a strong man, if we may trust the glowing eulogy of him by his son and heir, Rameses III., in the Harris Papyrus.

His mother may have been Thyi-mer-en-Ast (Thyi beloved of Isis), as she was "great royal wife, royal mother." Eisenlohr, in 1872, referred to a stele found by Mariette at Abydos, as confirming this probability. But its evidence is not conclusive. Rameses may well have been born of another mother. All that the stele proves is that Mer-en-atef as priest was adoring the deceased Setnekht and his queen in the reign of Rameses III. Her origin, like her husband's, is unknown. The conjecture of Miss Buttles, that her name [Thyi or Tii] suggests the old royal line of Dynasty XVIII. can only refer to the name of the queen of Amenhotep III. or of Ay; but it was a common Egyptian name. The only other piece of evidence relied on in this interest is tomb No. 11 (Leps., Denk., iii., 217 e, f) in the Valley of the Queens. The first scene represents a queen, unnamed, offering the uræi of South and North to Osiris; the second scene shows a *female figure*, wearing the crown of the North, and similarly offering uræi to Osiris; and below her arms an

inscription referring to her begins, "Utterance of *Nebt-het*," etc., *i.e.*, Nephthys, and she is followed by her frequent attendant goddess Serqet. Then comes Rameses III. adoring, and to him is said by Osiris, "I have given thee years numerous like Urt-hekau, lady of. . . ." Behind the king is a prince "first royal son of his majesty, charioteer of the great stall of King Rameses-heq-An, Pa-ra-her-amenf." There is no queen in this scene; and the queen in the first scene is unnamed. Nothing seems to have been erased, except two columns which must have referred to Osiris. It is therefore incorrect to say "the queen's name is lost," for it was probably never there. Miss Buttles reproduces Petrie's statement that "Rameses III. follows his mother"; but there is really no evidence to show that the tomb in question was that of Thyi-mer-en-Ast, the wife of Setnekht, as Petrie thinks. Thus we are driven back on the Abydos stele above mentioned, which is not conclusive that Thyi-mer-en-Ast was the mother of Rameses III.

The principal buildings of his reign (*c.* 1200-1169 B.C.) were the Amen temple and the temple of Khons at Karnak; a temple near the temple of Mut; and his great mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. His tomb is No. 11 in the Valley of the Kings; but his mummy, now in Cairo Museum, was not found there but in the "hiding-place" at Thebes, in one of the coffins of Queen Aahmes Nefert-ari (Dynasty XVIII.) in 1881. With touching, but not rare, filial affection he had appropriated his father's tomb, thoughtfully plastering over the parental cartouches; but time, the revealer, has removed some of the later stucco, and Setnekht's name may still be read. Nothing else in the tomb gives any family details, as, true to the practice in decorating royal tombs, the life of the future is the sole subject (see the *Old Egyptian Faith*, and *Two Theban Queens*).

His cartouche names are "User-Maat-Ra Meri-Amen, Rameses heq An," or "Real strength of Ra, beloved of Amen, Child of Ra, Prince of An (Heliopolis)." He reigned

for about 31 years. Nothing certain is known as to his age. Petrie (History, iii., 140) ingeniously calculates it at 54 years. Towards the end of his reign a hareem conspiracy, whose object except that it was "hostility to the king" we can only guess at, was unmasked; but he died before the investigation was finished, as in the report, partly preserved in papyri, he is always alluded to as "great god"—a title not accorded at that period to living monarchs.

It is not known for certain how many queens he had, or even if he had more than one. Though a queen is represented behind him at Medinet Habu, offering two sistrums, her name is not given. In fact, he is somewhat frugal in recording wives' names. Three ladies' names, if not four, are mentioned by modern authorities: (1) Ast-amásareth (Petrie), or Ast-amathruth (Budge) appears on a statue of the king figured by Lepsius (D., iii., 207 g), and designated "great royal wife, whom he loves, lady of the Two Lands." (2) Ast (Eset or Isis), whose tomb (now No. 51, Valley of the

Queens: in Lepsius, D., No. 10) is reported in the Abbot Papyrus (*Records of the Past*, xii., 109; *Ancient Records*, iv., pp. 258, 259) "intact." She is called "great royal mother, lady of the Two Lands," and is supposed by some modern authorities to have been the mother of Rameses VI. The same name, Eset or Isis, figures on a stele in Berlin Museum, which may well be the name of Rameses III.'s consort. (3) Humazery or Humatertchai (Budge). The name is quoted from Lepsius, D. T., ii., 101. She is "royal mother." The mutilated inscription in which this name is found was copied from a record at Dêr el Bakhit, near Gourneh, made in the time of Rameses VI.

As to the first and second names Prof. Petrie suggests that "amásereth" is a Syrian addition to the Egyptian name Ast, and he supposes therefore that Ast and Ast-amásereth are one and the same person, especially as in tomb No. 51, above mentioned, Ast appears, according to Miss Buttles, "to have been the mother of Rameses VI." But the former considers

the identity of the two queens just "probable," and guards himself as to the motherhood by saying that Ast appears in the tomb "as a great royal mother *in the time of Rameses VI.*" (History, iii., 164). The tomb shows the lady in long, transparent robes, wearing a quadruple uræus-headdress, and offering two sistrums to Ptah-sekert, while in the corner behind the latter is a column of inscription signifying that the tomb was "given by the favour of King Neb-maat-Ra Mer-Amen, Rameses Amen-neter-heq-An," which may stand for the cartouches of Rameses VI. But there is absolutely nothing here to show that she was the mother of that king. Further, the case for the identification of the "royal mother Humazery" with Ast or Ast-amásereth, which Miss Buttles considers probable on the ground of the Dêr el Bakhit inscription being of Rameses VI., and of Ast being his mother, becomes rather unsubstantial. On the other hand Petrie states straightly that the royal mother Humazery's "position is uncertain: she

might have been the mother of either Rameses IV. or V." (History, iii., 173). Possibly, but there is no evidence to warrant the supposition that these three ladies were "all one." And there need be no difficulty on our part in allowing Rameses III. three or even more queens!

In discussing this question notice must be taken of Prof. Breasted's assertion that Tiy, who along with her son Pentaur headed the hareem conspiracy "against his lord (the king)," was a "queen" and that her son was a "prince." He travels beyond the documents, when he says: "Such a [conspiring] queen in Rameses III.'s harem, named Tiy, now began furtive efforts to secure for her son Pentewere, the crown which had been promised to another prince," and, "the records of the trial of queen Tiy herself are not preserved, etc." Any ordinary reader would certainly gather from these statements that Tiy was a queen of Rameses III.: indeed the *Athenæum* reviewer of *Two Theban Queens* actually does so, when he says, "if, on the other

hand, she [*i.e.* Queen Ty-ti whom the author of that volume considers the 'consort of an *insignificant* Rameses of the Twentieth Dynasty'] were the queen of Rameses III., as Prof. Breasted thinks possible, she was the chief mover in the great conspiracy, etc." In the latter's *Ancient Records* (iv., p. 208), we also find that Tiy of the conspiracy is positively asserted to be "one of his queens, named Tiy," though we have also the puzzling note added, "she may have been the mother or step-mother of Rameses III.: see Erman, *Ægypten*, 87": further on (p. 211), "the fate of the queen Tiy is unknown, etc." Well, what does Erman say? "A conspiracy broke out in his own hareem headed by a distinguished lady of the name of Tey [same as Tiy], who was certainly of royal blood, and indeed may have been either his mother or step-mother;" and he also adds in a note, "the consort of his father at any rate bears this same name," meaning, presumably, Thyi-mer-en-Ast, wife of Setnekht. In another passage Erman styles Tey simply "one of the oldest

inmates" of the hareem. We have here, surely, suppositions and alternatives enough. If now we refer to Prof. Breasted's own translation of the records of the trial we find Tiy mentioned twice only, but she *is never characterised in any way as queen.* There is absolutely no evidence for asserting that she was a queen of Rameses III., or a queen at all, or a person of royal blood, or a distinguished lady, or even one of the oldest inmates of the hareem. We know nothing whatever about her except her name—and even that is doubtful—that she was the mother of Pentaur, and that she is the only one of the hareem conspirators who is named. We are even ignorant of the exact nature of the conspiracy. Dr Budge (History, v., 172) regards "Thi as simply a royal concubine," which is probably the truth. As for the conspirator's connection with the tomb of Queen Ty-ti, it must be remembered first, that the latter's name is invariably spelled in the tomb with a *t* in the middle of the word; and there are other differences in the two names, as was pointed out in *Two*

Theban Queens. Second, Queen Ty-ti's name has not been erased in her tomb, as would in all probability have been the case had she been the conspirator. "The absence," also, "of any provision for funerary offerings in Queen Ty-ti's tomb" has been suggested as a reason for this being the conspirator's tomb; but if this means that there is no *suten da hotep* prayer for these, neither is there any such petition found in Queen Nefert-ari's tomb, or in the tombs of the two princes Kha-em-Uast and Amen-khepeshf, and of others. The absence of these petitions or provisions proves nothing as to the manner of the death of the persons concerned. Lastly, a somewhat more conclusive piece of evidence that Queen Ty-ti was not the heroine of the conspiracy is found in the fact, which all admit, that the names of the plotters given in the records are not their real names, but "fictitious names" or terms of opprobrium.

Now, if this be so, what of the woman Tiy's name? It is not "a term of opprobrium," but is it her real name? She was the head

and front of the conspiracy, and if her son, or a former butler, or a former "chief of the chamber," or an overseer of the hareem was for some mysterious reason masked under a fictitious name, is it not at least probable that the name Tiy is fictitious also? If that is so, the case for the identification of Queen Ty-ti with the conspirator Tiy breaks down hopelessly.

We have, therefore, no evidence to show that either Queen Ty-ti or Tiy of the hareem conspiracy was a queen of Rameses III.

His children now claim attention. The authoritative record for his family is the list at Medinet Habu. It is imitated, like so many other things of his, from the lists of Rameses II.'s family; but Rameses III. was not so extensive a father as his namesake. Yet, like the latter, he gives us merely a selection of his family. Only ten sons are named and described. Even this he is not supposed to have done himself, for Petrie (History, iii., 139) affirms that "all agree that it must have been done under Rameses VIII. who has his cartouche shown." But

Medinet Habu Temple. Kha-em-Uast. Amen-her-khepeshf.

[*To face page* 12.

Baedeker's *Egypt* is equally positive that "the names were added under Rameses VI." However that may be, the sons have all as their first title "fan-bearer on the right hand of the king," and consequently each carries an ostrich-plume fan. Only the first three princes have their names in cartouches, within the column in front of each; the fourth's name within the column has no cartouche and he is described as "deceased," while between it and the prince is a cartouched name, which Petrie and Baedeker respectively read as above, with the epithet "giving life" attached, which belongs to a living sovereign. The remaining five are all marked "deceased."

Nos. 8 and 9 in this list are the Princes Kha-em-Uast and Amen-(her)-khepeshf, whose tombs are here described. The former is "Fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, *Sem* of Ptah, the king's son of his body, Rameses Kha-em-Uast, *maa kherou* (deceased or triumphant)," "Rameses" not being enclosed in a cartouche. The latter is "Fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, king's son of his body whom he

loves, Rameses (also unenclosed) Amen-her-khepeshf, *maa kherou*." Prof. Petrie insists in an ingenious discussion (History, iii., 137-141) that these two sons reigned under the names of Rameses X. and XI., aged respectively 56 and 59 years! But these statements were made before the tombs of the two lads were discovered in 1903-4: so risky is it to write history before you know! Both Kha-em-Uast and Amen-khepeshf are revealed in their tombs as mere boys, wearing the side-lock of youth. It is quite certain they never reached manhood or the throne. The name Kha-em-Uast, like his brother's here, was copied from that of Rameses II.'s famous son, and probably means "Rising (a theophany) in Thebes." It is generally the same in his tomb as on the Temple List, with five exceptions which will be noticed below. Often in the tomb the name K. is introduced by "king's Son," or "king's son of his body, whom he loves." But the only office assigned to the boy is "*Sem* (*Setem*) of Ptah." He is never called "fan-bearer,"

though indeed the fan is conspicuous enough everywhere in the tomb. A *Sem* of a god was probably a *servant*, an *attendant*, one who *waits on* or *hears* the word of the god.

Once in the tomb, K. is described as "First (tep) royal son"; and in five cases, in the inner corridor, "Rameses" in a cartouche comes between "king's son," and "Kha-em-Uast." This corresponds, with the exception of the cartouche, with the name in the Temple List.

Our second prince, whose tomb is No. 55, is named in the Temple List, Rameses Amen-her-khepeshf, followed also by *maa kherou*. He too wears the boyish curl. The name is invariably written in the tomb without the preposition *her* (on)—a surprising change. The son of Rameses II. after whom he was called, figures in all the lists as Amen-her-khepeshf. But in no instance in this tomb does the prenomen Rameses, either with or without a cartouche, occur before "Amen-khepeshf." As to the meaning of the fuller form of the word Prof. Naville considers that the name "Amen-on-

his-sword" is synonymous with "Amen-on-his right side, or right hand." His titles in the tomb are sufficiently varied, as compared with the meagre column on the Temple List, "fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's son of his body, whom he loves." In the tomb, A., like K. his brother, carries a fan; but he is never styled "fan-bearer" any more than his brother. His titles or designations are (1) "Royal Scribe, Overseer of the horses of the king's chariotry station, the king's son of his body, whom he loves;" (2) "Hereditary son (erpat sa) of the Overlord of the Two Lands, Royal Scribe, Overseer of the horses of the king's station, the king's son"; (3) Hereditary son of the Overlord of the Two Lands, Great chief (ur tep) overseer of his Majesty's horses of R. III.'s station, the king's son;" (4) Hereditary son of the Overlord of the Two Lands, king's son of his body, whom he loves, born of the Divine Wife, the Divine Mother, the Great royal wife, Royal Scribe, Overseer of the king's horses, king's son"; (5) Hereditary son of the Overlord of

the Two Lands, king's son of his body whom he loves, born of the Great Royal Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Overseer of the horses of R. III.'s station;" (6) Hereditary son of the Overlord of the Two Lands, royal scribe, Overseer of the horses of R. III.'s chariotry station. Sometimes "great overseer" occurs. The striking points here, however, are that he is called "hereditary son," which seems to point to his having been designed as the heir to the throne; and the allusion to his mother. We would give much to know who she was—"the Divine Wife, Divine Mother, Great Royal Wife, Lady of the Two Lands;" but Rameses III. is always sparing in mentioning a wife's name. Though later born than Kha-em-Uast, Amen-khepeshf held more offices than his brother, because he probably lived a little longer, or perhaps because he was the greater favourite.

Characteristics of the Tombs.

The style and workmanship lead one to believe that they were executed at about

the same time, though if we might judge from the more unfinished state of A.'s tomb its execution was rather later than K.'s. On the other hand the arrangement of the so-called "Pylons of the House of Osiris" in both tombs points to synchronism of design. For in the decoration of the tombs there is a certain economy of pylons; thus while in A.'s we have Pylons 5, 6, 7, 8 and another, we find in K.'s a sequence of these in Pylons 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 (15) and 16. In both tombs, also, the father appears acting as the sole mediator, the "magic voice," of his sons. He appears as the principal figure, being almost invariably described as *maa kherou* (where the term is absent it seems to be an accidental omission). But we are not to suppose, therefore, that the king is dead like his sons. In the case of ordinary mortals the phrase has that implication, but the king, as a god, was always *maa kherou*. This we believe to be the meaning of the epithet in these tombs after the king's name. The king was like the gods, like Thoth, for example, "who

makes Horus triumphant (*se-maa-kherou*) over his enemies" (*Book of the Dead*, chap. 1), like Ra, like Khepera, and others who were all *maa kherou*.[1] The authority and power of the voice of the king in this life or the next were divinely omnipotent over all demons, and could overcome all opposition, or call things into actual being or reality by its mere exercise. That is what is meant, apparently, by *maa kherou, the voice being law.* To "speak with a word" (*cf.* St Matt. viii. 8—the Roman centurion ascribed this power to the "voice" or "word" of Jesus, even though exercised at a distance) was enough to compel the demons of the next world to be subject to the possessor of the "True Voice," and this is the function which Rameses performs in these tombs for his sons. For though they too are designated *maa kherou*, the words which are spoken to the guardian deities

[1] Two steles in Geneva Museum seem to Wiedemann (*Proc. S.B.A.*, xvii., 195), to apply the epithet to ordinary persons during life. But all the blessings invoked thereon might quite well be meant for the *Ka* of the two *dead* persons so named.

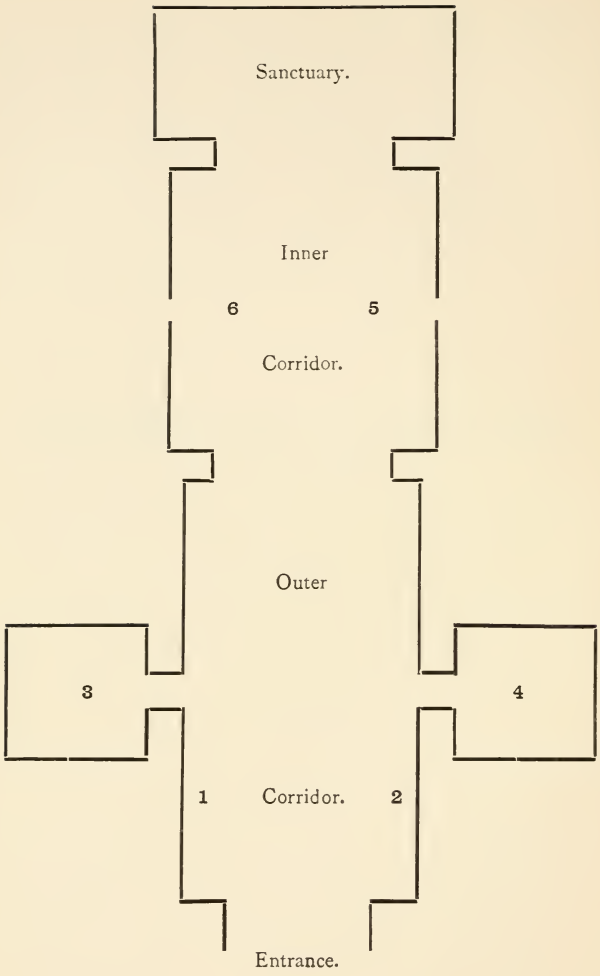
of the pylons are always the words of the king; and so with his "all-prevailing words" he leads the perilous way for his boys through the "many rooms" of the House of Father Osiris.

The same characteristics that differentiate royal tombs from those of private persons, which was noticed in *Two Theban Queens*, are present here also: there is no allusion to mundane life; the whole representation being devoted to the next world as it was conceived by the priests. An omission noticed then, and more remarkable in the case of these tombs, is the entire absence of references to the god Amen, except in the son's name, which in its turn makes the omission more remarkable still, because the cult of Amen and the power of his priesthood were more to the fore in the reign of Rameses III. than in that of Rameses II. Yet in striking contrast to this fact, much dwelt on by historians, we have the evidence of the Harris Papyrus to the former's distinct affection, as shown by his benefactions, for the Memphite and Heliopolitan

deities. The magnificence of his gifts to Ptah at Memphis prepares us for the prominence of Ptah in these two tombs, as well as of some of the deities specially associated with On or Heliopolis. Kha-em-Uast is a priest of Ptah, and the office is recorded in the Amen Temple of Medinet Habu. (The fifth son on the Temple List is also a priest or seer of Ra-Toum, another non-Theban deity.) Yet the Osiris cult is the predominant feature in all the magico-religious ceremonies depicted in these two tombs. "Appearing before" the great god, Osiris, and union with him, form the final scene in one of these tombs at least (the corresponding chamber in the other is not decorated); no name is uttered or petition offered by the suppliant; enough that he has at length "appeared" before the great god. Lastly, though no formula (*suten da hotep*) for funeral offerings for the *Kas* (never mentioned in these tombs) of the deceased princes, as in Queen Nefert-ari's tomb, appears on the walls, or provision made to receive them, as in Queen Ty-ti's,

we must not suppose, as has been done in the case of the latter, that the absence of these things implied displeasure or punishment meted out. Nothing is known of these boys opposed to the assumption that they were innocent youths, whose untimely end was bewailed by their father.

THE TOMB OF KHA-EM-UAST
No. 44.


Sanctuary.
Inner
6
5
Corridor.
Outer
3
4
1
Corridor.
2
Entrance.

THE TOMB OF KHA-EM-UAST

Outer Corridor, Left Side.

We begin with the left side (1) on entering. A figure of the king, now obliterated, his cartouches remaining, stood adoring Ptah in a shrine with latticed front and back. Ptah, green in face indicating life-growth hereafter, wears a blue helmet-like cap and has a *menat* (symbol of joy or pleasure?) at the back of the neck. He is here styled "Great Ptah of his South-Wall (fortress?), great Lord of Life of the Two Lands." Memphis was anciently called "White Wall" (Fortress, *Hdt.*, iii., 91). Ptah's temple was probably on the south side of the city. Here the king worships Ptah, because in the next picture the prince behind him, approaching the god Thoth, is styled "Setem (servant) of great Ptah of his

South-Wall, Lord of Life of the Two Lands, king's son, Kha-em-Uast, *triumphant.*" K. is quite a lad with juvenile curl, and carries a red and blue fan and a crook of authority behind his father offering two bowls to Thoth. Thoth appears with the usual ibis-head and moon disc with horns, as the measurer of times and seasons. He is called here "Lord (Master) of divine words" (hieroglyphs or written speech). He says: "I have given to thee the South . . ."; the rest is destroyed; it probably ran, "and the North," the allusion being to chap. 161, *Book of the Dead*, as in Queen Nefert-ari's Tomb, room 7.

Beyond the door of the chamber on the left, the pair appear before Anubis. The inscriptions for father and son are the same as before. Anubis, with his usual jackal head, takes the king by the hand, and holds up the other, like the king, in salutation. The god is "President of the Divine Hall [the Tomb]," and says: "I have given to thee all the strength of the South and the North, and the Nine Bows (desert-dwellers)

to be under thy feet. . . ." Above the god's head are some directions for the decoration. Further on, the king, above whose head is the winged Horus of Edfu protecting him, is similarly welcomed by "Harmachis (Horus of-the-horizons) great god," who says: "[I] have brought to thee those that are in heaven, and those that are on earth, I have brought to thee cool water. . . ." This scene ends the left-hand wall of the outer corridor.

(2) On the right-hand wall of the outer corridor we have symmetrical pictures.

First, there is a partly unpainted figure of the king offering a bowl to another form of Ptah, who is here called "Ptah-Sekerti-(*sic*)-Asar (Osiris), dwelling in the secret places." These titles are almost the same as those in the Papyrus of Anhai (Pl. v.), and show that Ptah-Seker was closely identified even in Dynasty xx. with Osiris, and as such seems to represent a union of Ptah the Creator with the Night Sun. On the opposite side Ptah as Lord of Memphis seems to stand as sovereign of

the visible world: here he is perhaps revealed as king of both worlds. Hence he says: "I have given to thee thy duration [words erased, probably "like Ra"] and thy years like Toum *in* (m). . . ." Again, as opposite, the prince appears carrying a red, blue, and white fan behind his father. The inscription is exactly the same; and beyond the chamber-door the king, wearing a blue uræus-helmet, offers a censer of burning incense and a libation from a teapot-like vessel, with a blue plaque on its side, to the god Seb (the name is spelled with the goose sign). Behind the king are the signs for magical "protection, life, stability, power of every kind around him, like Ra." The god Seb, anciently designated Keb or Geb, is altogether human in form, clad in a short kilt; he has a beard, wears the red crown of the North, and carries in his hands the usual emblems of "life" and "power." He is called "Seb, father of the gods," and says: "[I] have given to thee eternity in festivals (hebu) like Ptah-Ta-nenen." Seb is the primeval earth-god, husband of Nout or

the sky, from whom he is parted by Shu, the darting-light (who appears towards the end of this wall) on whose supports or pillars the firmament rests. Here he is called Father of the Gods, not indeed, as Prof. Naville (*Old Egyptian Faith*, 123) says, "the father of all the gods, but the oldest father, as Nout was the oldest mother, in the order of the deities." As father he was the sire of Osiris and Isis, as well as of the other pair Set and Nephthys; and as the earth-god, from whom things sprang and grew, he was the "Lord of Cakes or Food (see curious plate in Lanzone, *Mito: Egiz*, clxxii.), besides being the natural custodier of tombs. Sometimes he is represented, as in that plate, with a goose on the top of his head, because a kind of goose is called *seb* in Egyptian, and the hieroglyph here used in the god's name contains that symbol. Beyond Seb the prince and his father are welcomed by the god Shu, as he was by Anubis opposite. The boy holds the right hand down in token of obeisance; he is arrayed in white,

with girdle of red, blue, and white. "Shu, Son of Ra," says: "[I] have given to thee the South Land [South takes precedence of North] and the North Land together, under thy sandals (feet) for ever." Shu, like Seb, is altogether human in form, and wears on his head the green ostrich-feather, *shu*, which stands for "light" (p. 29), the uplifter that raised Nout (sky) from Seb (earth). Beyond Shu the hieroglyphics give the names of the king, "the Osiris King, Lord of the Two Lands User-Maat-Ra Mer-Amen, Son of Ra, Lord of Diadems, Rameses heq-An, triumphant, beloved of Osiris, chief of Amentet." The king could be an Osiris while on earth. Further on, the king is offering incense, and the prince appears before an unpainted figure of "Toum (Tem or Temem), Lord of the Two Lands of An (On, Heliopolis)."

This scene ends the right side of the outer corridor.

Notice here that on both sides all the deities represented are of the old Heliopolitan system; the Theban Amen has no

Tomb of Kha-em-Uast. Shu receiving the King and the Prince. Seb.

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place. Besides, the old gods are all connected with the Osirian myth. And the same thing is true of the side chambers which we shall now examine. This fact, which is characteristic of both these tombs excavated and decorated at the beginning of Dynasty xx., when the cult and influence of Amen are held to have been paramount, seems to require explanation.

The side chambers are devoted to the prince, the king not being represented in them, as they seem to refer entirely to the funeral rites of embalmment, etc., of the son. The lintel of the chamber on the left shows the usual winged sun (Horus) of Edfu, while down the jambs are the words, "[Given] as a favour by the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Rameses III., Son of Ra, Lord of Diadems, to [his] son. . . ."

The thicknesses of the door show figures of a youth in a panther's skin as worn by priests: they represent "Horus-Anmutf, Horus the column or supporter of his mother"—an allusion apparently to the belief that Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, assisted

his mother in reconstituting the dead body of his father. This he is here supposed to do for Kha-em-Uast. Behind, and accompanying Horus-Anmutf, on the one side, are his mother Isis and her wailing sister Nephthys, while on the other are Neith followed by Serqet. These four goddesses generally go together in the funeral ceremonies, as they did at the burial and resurrection of Osiris. Their function here is similar. Isis is simply called "great," probably "great mother" was intended; Nephthys is merely named "Nebt-het"; on the other side Neith's name is correctly written, but Serqet's or Serq's is wrongly spelled "Sert," and she wears by mistake the head symbol of Nephthys, while Neith seems to have the corresponding hieroglyph of Isis.

On both walls we see the prince twice, adoring the deities of embalmment and burial. On both sides the figures are symmetrically arranged, Serqet ending the row on the left and Neith on the right hand. Thus, beginning at the door the order on both sides is identical, the prince, Anubis, the prince,

Amset, Hapi, Duamutf, Qebhsennuf—with Serqet and Neith as above.

As the master-spirit of embalmment and funeral rites Anubis receives the first and undivided homage of the prince, who is styled as before, but without the designation *maa kherou, triumphant.* The reason seems to be that as he is here undergoing the first part of the funeral rites he has not yet become *maa kherou.* The side chambers represent a stage prior in time to the first corridor. Anubis on the left is called "Anpu the Embalmer," and on the right "Anpu, Lord of Re-stau" (passages of the tomb or the necropolis)—two common designations of his funerary functions. The prince now styled "king's son of his body whom he loves" adores on both sides the four funereal genii in a body—Amset(a), Hapi, Duamutef, Qebhsennuf, who are merely named. Their functions were various: (1) They preserved the heart, lungs, and other viscera of the deceased against his reconstitution or resurrection; (2) they represented the four cardinal

points, and therefore (3) the winds coming from these quarters, at the bidding of Thoth, to revive the dead with their breath. This last function is often represented on coffins and sarcophagi, and is referred to in the *Book of the Dead*, chap. 161, Rubric, "Every *sahu* (body) who has these figures on his coffin, the four openings of the sky are open to him—one in the North, it is the wind of Osiris—one in the South, it is the wind of [Ra] Aah (the moon)—one in the West, it is the wind of Isis—one in the East, it is the wind of Nephthys. Every one of these winds which are at his entrance when he wants it, breathes into his nostrils." It will be remembered that Ezekiel in his vision of the vivification of the dry and dead bones (chap. xxxvii.) writes: "Then said the Lord unto me, Prophesy unto the wind (breath), prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath (wind, spirit), and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So I prophesied, . . . and the breath came into them, and they lived."

On the end wall, a double figure of Osiris enthroned appears, back to back. He has a greenish face, indicative of the vegetative growth of the next life, wears the *atef* crown, and holds crook and flail, emblems of dominion. The god facing to the left is called "Asar (Osiris), Lord of the Sacred Land," and that to the right "Asar, Chief of Amentet." To him on the left Nephthys, and on the right "Isis great . . . ," approach, adoring the great god, the last figure of the prince on either side being supposed to accompany them. It is his first presentation at burial to the "Lord of the Sacred Land," to the "First of those who are in Amentet" (the western necropolis). Between the figures of the god we read: "King of the South and North, the Osiris king, etc., etc., beloved of Mer-segert, daughter of Amentet." She was a snake goddess with a woman's head, to whom apparently Rameses III. was devoted. Her name has been translated "She that loves silence," "She that is beloved (*merit*) by him who maketh silence (*i.e.*, the friend of

Osiris)." On the rocks midway between Dêr el Medinet and the Valley of the Queens, Rameses III. is seen being suckled by Mersegert. As a deity of the necropolis she was supposed to be kind and good, but she knew also how to punish. Hence, she was perched "on a summit" (she was so called sometimes) above the necropolis to chastise, and afterwards by her grace and mercy to restore transgressors. The stele of Neferabu exhorts the living to call on her, for "truly the Summit on the West is merciful when she is appealed to: hearken all ye ears that are on earth, take good heed of the Summit of the West." In the tomb of A. we shall find that she is set off with Hathor, as a companion regent of the West.

(4) The chamber to the right is similar to that on the left. On the lintel and jambs of the entrance the same inscriptions; at the entrance, the same An-mutf figures with the accompanying goddesses. But Anubis is not seen at all, probably because the first funereal rites are over, and the prince now more particularly adores the special funeral

deities in detail, Hapi and Qebhsennuf on the left, and Amset and Duamutef on the right. The prince now appears twice on either side in adoration of the deities in front of him, including Osiris on the end wall, as in the other chamber. K. now becomes *maa kherou*. Hapi has, wrongly, a jackal's head instead of a dog's, and the inscription is "Worthy before Hapi," said of K. who in addition to his office and name is "king's son of his body, whom he loves." He again appears before Qebhsennuf, with similar inscriptions respectively. Qebhsennuf is properly falcon-headed. On the opposite wall, the prince similarly adores Amset, properly man-headed, and Duamutef, with the head of a baboon instead of that of a jackal. To Amset and Duamutef are assigned speeches, respectively; "Worthy before Amset: [I] come before thee, to pay homage to thee, great one, that is in the Aat.[1]" There are fourteen Aats in the garden of Aarru (a region of the blessed: *Book of the Dead*, chap. 149). Naville

[1] Aat, however, may simply mean "chest," "coffin."

prefers the rendering "residence" or "habitation" to Renouf's "domain." An Aat according to the former authority is "an enclosed space which has inhabitants described or mentioned in the text. The deceased calls first on the Aat, and often in the same breath goes over to the inhabitants without any transition." It is probably the first Aat that is here meant, judging from the words "great one," and "Amset" in whose mouth the short speech is put. The concluding words of the first Aat are "I am Amsi the builder (qed)," which may refer to the joining together of the bones and limbs of the deceased. The symbol used for Amsi is the one usually associated with the god Min, and may easily have been used here. The prince next adores Duamutef, who says: "Worthy before Duamutef: [I] come before thee, to pay homage to thee, to make protection of thy members every day."

On both sides at this point we have new deities introduced, whom the prince adores; and this adoration must be held, as before, to extend to Ptah-Sekerti-Asar on the end

wall. The deity immediately before K. on the left is dog-headed, wears a black and white wig, and stands reverentially with hands down. He represents "the Paut (company) of all the gods of Duat" (the underworld). Behind him a falcon-headed nude human figure of a youth, with blue wig, and arms also hanging down. The inscription seems to read, "Horus, beneficent youth" (Heru menkh, with det. of *child*, which agrees with the picture). Lanzone, *Mit. Egiz.*, 574, gives a long name for a Horus, which reads "Heru-het-neter-aa-menkh, of the nome Uthes-Hor (Hawk perch), Horus of the House, great and excellent god (beneficent) of the nome U. He is here reproduced on the opposite wall exactly in the same way, with the same name; and in front of him, adored by the prince, is an ibis-headed god, whose name seems to be Baka or Baqa, another form of Horus, son of Isis. Lanzone, in his list (p. 575) gives a form of Horus the younger, as "Lord of Baka": here "Lord" seems to have been omitted.

On the end wall we have, as in the other chamber, two figures of Ptah-Sekerti-Asar enthroned back to back. Here culminates the adoration of the prince on both sides. Beneath the throne of the god is an enclosure of water in the shape of the hieroglyph for Law or Truth, from which on either side grows up in front of the god a large lily with two green leaves. "Isis, great goddess" on the left, and "Nephthys goddess," stand before him adoring and introducing the prince to the Divine Presence. The designation of the god is "Ptah-Sekerti-Asar, Chief of the Amentet, dwelling in the hidden (secret) place."

Inner Corridor.

The inner corridors, in both tombs, owing to the arrangement of the pylons, ought properly to be described together. But we must take this corridor by itself. It represents, like the other, the further progress of the prince in the next world, championed by his father's magic power,

in passing through the rooms on his way to blessed union with the Great God.

On both sides, on entering, we have a moulded but unpainted figure of an Anmutf priest. The first Pylon is No. 9 on the right hand, and the movement now becomes zigzag, No. 10 being the first on the left hand; then we cross to No. 11 on the right, and back to the left for No. 12, and so for the last pair 14 (15) and 16, right and left respectively. On both sides the prince, bearing a large broad fan, follows his father. His name and title stand in front: "Setem of Ptah of his South Fortress, Lord of the life of the Two Lands, Royal Son, Rameses (cartouched) Kha-em-Uast, *triumphant* for eternity."

The king stands before Room 9 adoring, and ready to pronounce with true magic voice the formula in front of him, which will triumph over the demon-guardian and gain admission to the Sebkhet (pylon or room). The hieroglyphic texts given, sometimes corruptly, in both tombs are portions of chaps. 145 and 146 of the *Book of the Dead*,

and, for the most part, resemble those found in the Papyri of Nu and Auf-ankh, as well as the Papyri of Ani and Iouaya, but there are many curious differences. The renderings here given are not offered as authoritative.

Pylon 9 is guarded by a demon, whose name Den-den seems to mean "The mighty or the valorous one"; the creature has an antelope head, with black twisted horns and is armed with blue knives. The name, with the same det. is that of the "lady" of Pylon 14, chap. 146, Pap. of Nu. The words of magic power of the king are mixed up with portions of the address to Pylon 8, and chaps. 145 and 146 are also indiscriminately mingled. The address is:—

> "The salutation (homage) of King User, etc. Pylon Nineth of Quiet-Heart (a name of the dead Osiris). [I] have made a way (arrived), I know thee, I know the name of the god that guardeth thee. 'Lady of strength that gives birth to *besu* (det. fish), measure . . . her circumference, millions of millions upon

its way, lady that shoots forth (light?) like the green stone (emerald) of the South, unapproachable (?), that raises up *besu*, that clothes the dead (the helpless one) with fine linen (*pek*, see Rubric, Chap. 13, Turin Pap.) of her lord every day, she whose task it is to hack the fiends in pieces' is the name, Den-den (mighty or valorous one) is the name of the god that keeps the door.[1] I have washed in the water in which the god Anpu (Anubis) washed when he had made the embalmment of Osiris, I am anointed with *seft* ointment, I am swathed in *admr* (cloth), the rod (wand) I have is of *mait* (wood)." "Pass on, then, thou; thou art pure (ceremonially)."

The words of the king "I know thee, I know the name of the god that guardeth thee," or as they are in the fuller form "I know thee, I know thy name, and I know the name of the god etc.," which are the

[1] In the pylons of both tombs the doorkeeper and the deity that keeps the pylon are the same person.

indispensable introduction of the address to each pylon, are the first indications of his magical *knowledge* or *gnosis:* he then proceeds to pronounce the names with the "magic voice" (*maa kherou*). This knowledge, especially the knowledge of names of demons and things, pervades Egyptian religious texts from the earliest down to the latest times; the value attached to the "name" and "the knowledge of the name" is conspicuous throughout the Old Testament; and eventually, in partial union with Christianity, this "knowledge" became systematised in Gnosticism, which though expelled from the Church as a heresy, left its marks in the Christian Scriptures. Mr F. Legge (*Proceedings, S.B.A.*, vol. xxiii.) has well defined magic as "the attempt to compel the spirit world"; and the Egyptian, whether in this life or the next, who knew the name of a person or a demon and was able *to name his name to him*, could thereby master him and rob him of all power to hurt. And so it is here: the "ladies" and guardians of these pylons are

so many evil demons necessarily hostile to the progress of the spirit hereafter, and they must be overcome by magically naming their names.

The exorcism of demons and the cure of disease in the New Testament might be cited in support of the same power. This is not the place to discuss this subject fully, but here it may be sufficient to note among many instances to be found in the New Testament, the case of the Roman centurion who believed that the mere "word" of Jesus, like a soldier's word of command, could, *even at a distance*, expel the demon of disease; and the fact that Jesus, in virtue of His superior power and authority compels a demon, who also *knows* Him, to surrender his name to Him before he was exorcised. St Paul (Acts xvi. 18), also, exercises the same power *in the name* of his Master; in fact, "His name is above every name," and to *know* and to *trust in it* is to transcend all evil limitations.

The magic introductory formula, being the same before each pylon, will not be repeated in what follows.

The word *ams* (with det. of *wood*) here translated *rod* or *wand* is found in chap. 145, in Pylons 1-10 only. The *ams* rod, in the hands of the Sem priest, also plays a magical part in the Book of Opening of the Mouth. It may well be the same as the wonder-working rods of Moses and Aaron as well as of the Egyptian magicians, whose rods, though possessed of much magic virtue —turning water into blood, and bringing forth frogs—failed in further trials of skill before the superior power of the rods of Moses and Aaron. Twice, indeed, "the rod of Moses" is specifically called "the rod of Elohim (God)" (Exod. iv. 20, xvii. 9). The Egyptian magicians were simply scribes skilled in the sacred writings; and here the king is armed with his rod of enchantment as well as with his words of magic power.

The royal pair, having thus in virtue of the king's "voice" and knowledge of names been permitted to pass triumphantly through this pylon, now cross over to the other side to encounter Pylon 10, and its demon and guardian. The creature

represented is apparently human, with a beard, and rejoices in the name of Sekhen-ur, the doorkeeper "who embraces the great god." But the lady's *name* within is :—

> "The very exalted, the great one of gates, who raises . . . the terrible one art thou, thou comest forth . . . supplications, high of voice is she, the conqueror of the fiends (enemies), who destroys not what is within her. Thy name is Sekhen-ur, is the name of the god that keeps the door. I have washed in the water in which Asdes (a guardian, along with Osiris and Anubis, of 'the ways of the dead') washed when he went to restore (*netch*) Set in the hidden chamber. I am anointed with red *merhet* (wax or unguent), I am clothed with a covering of *desh* (?) . . . The rod I have is of red. . . ." "Pass on, then, thou; thou art pure."

We now take Pylon 11 on the right wall. The guardian is a red-faced baboon-headed

monster with blue wig and green knives. The name of the "lady" within is :—

> "'She that reneweth her knives, that burneth her enemies (fiends) with fire, the divine mistress (two dets.) of every *sebkhet* (pylon), the lady that is acclaimed on the day of hearing of faults (*sedem au*) is the name Peft-akhu-f (fiery dart of his altars?) is the name of the god that keeps the door.'" "I prepare the wrapping for the dead."

The name of the demon as spelled beside his head is Pefes-akhu-f: *pefes* (with det. of *flame*) being used of the wound which Suti caused in the eye of Horus (chap. 112). The end of the speech is now altered: instead of "I have washed, etc.," we have "I prepare the wrapping of the dead," a sentence which is retained in the rest of the pylons in chap. 145. Prof. Naville thinks that "the dead is supposed to wear a different garment at each pylon, which is provided to him by the pylon itself." This seems now to be the answer of the pylon instead of "pass on, thou art pure." Purifi-

cations and anointments and rods give place to a "new garment" at each new stage: it is the guerdon of having overcome.

Again crossing to the left side we have Pylon 12. The name of the guardian demon here is Mai; he is dog-headed, yellow in colour, and has two blue knives. The Prince's Rameses-name is again cartouched, as throughout this corridor. There are two puzzling blank spaces in the king's speech. The lady within is named:—

> "'She that hacks? (*mt* with det. of hatchet) her two lands, that utterly destroys the fiends that come in morning dawns of fire, lady of splendour, that hears the voices of her lord every day' is the name (blank space). Mai is the name (a longer blank) of the god that keeps the door." "I prepare the wrapping for the dead."

On the opposite wall we have a scene which may have been meant for Pylon 13. The prince and the king are there, as well as the guardian, a green jackal-headed demon, and armed with green knives; there

are also the tops of five columns (one blank) of the magic speech of the king. But beneath these there is a large hole leading into a small unfinished chamber. An exactly similar arrangement is seen on the opposite side, which may have been meant for Pylon 14. The plan of the tomb here has evidently been changed after the decoration had been begun, as we can hardly imagine the reverse process. The work of decoration was interrupted, and the rock pierced on both sides for chambers which were also left unfinished. Taking our supposed Pylon 13 we have the tops of the inscriptions as follows:—(1) "The salutation . . .; (2) 'I know'; (3) '. . . their [hands?] upon her'; (4) blank; (5) 'of the god that keeps [the door].'" In the text of Pylon 13, chap. 146, the phrase occurs "Osiris bringeth his two hands upon her," and in chap. 144 (same pylon) we have, of the gods, "their hands" in adoration "of her face"—passages which seem to indicate that Pylon 13 was intended here. The name of the guardian is Het (det. of *evil*) aua (Violent Destroyer).

On the left side our supposed Pylon is 14. It is more interesting than the last because, whether by mistake or not, we have a remarkable change made in the designation of the prince. The inscription begins as before "Setem of Ptah, etc." then comes "king's son, *the first* (tep) of his body, Rameses (cartouched) Kha-em-Uast." This would make Kha-em-Uast the eldest born, unless *tep* is a blunder. The tops of four columns of the king's words of magic-power are given (1) "The salutation"; (2) "I kn[ow]"; (3) secrets . . .; (4) "those who." The guardian demon has an ape-like head and brandishes two blue knives. His name is Sau-pen.

Pylon 15 is the last on the right side. The guardian demon stands, like the other ornamental creature on the left side, on the corresponding end wall. His head is turned away from us; it is thus the back part of his wig that we see. The face, therefore, looks *inwards* towards the sanctuary, while the feet of the creature are turned outwards. His name is Nehes-her-peri-em-Duat, which

may be translated, "Watchful one, on coming forth from the Duat." This seems to explain his attitude, especially as we shall see below that part of his description is "the one that goes and comes." The name "Nehes" is given to the bow of the boat in chap. 122 (Papyrus of Nu), which is entitled "The Chapter of entering after coming forth [from the Duat, Underworld]." The attitude of the guardian is an attempt to combine both movements. The numbering of this pylon is undoubtedly 15, but the text of 14 of chap. 145 has been largely used. The description of the lady within is :—

> "Great one of souls, red of hair, Amkhe-bat, that comes forth at night, that annihilates the fiends in his (*sic*) forms, that gives her hands to Quiet-Heart in the [his] hour, the one that goes and comes is the name Nehes-her-peri-em-Duat is the name of the god that keeps the door." "I prepare the wrapping for the dead."

The last enemy to be overcome is the bird-headed demon, with two green feathers

Tomb of Kha-em-Uast. Entrance to Sanctuary.

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rising from his head, that occupies a similar position to the demon the royal pair has just vanquished. He guards Pylon 16, and is named, Sepdu-kesu-ud-beqa-per-em-met. The "lady" within the pylon is :—

> "Terrible goddess, who throws out her burning heat and sprinkles her sparks of fire over her enemies when she appears,[1] she who creates (reveals?) the secrets (written defectively) of earth. Sepdu-kesu-ud-beqa-per-met is the name of the god that keeps the door." "[I] prepare the wrapping of the dead."

The Sanctuary.

Over the doorway is the winged Horus of Edfu and down the sides are (left) "king of South and of North, Lord of the Two Lands, User-maat-Ra-Mer-Amen, Son of Ra, Lord of Diadems, Rameses-heq-An, triumphant, beloved of Osiris, Chief of

[1] The text from "who throws out" up to this point is almost identical with that quoted from the tomb of Meren-ptah Siptah and Tausert, by Prof. Naville, who translates it as above.

Amentet," and (right) the same titles followed by "triumphant, beloved of Mersegert, daughter of Amentet."

On the thicknesses of the door on either side there is a large *dad* (emblem of stability, for Osiris) with an *atef* crown, also a uræus crowned with a sun-disc, and blue and red streamers hanging down. Osiris here is called "Lord of Ament, great god," and (right) "Lord of Dadu, great god," as well as "Lord of Ament ruler of everlastingness."

The left side shows us first the jackal Anubis, as guardian of the tomb, couched on a mastaba with flail over his back and a collar hanging from his neck. The inscription is, "said by Anpu in the place of embalmment by the Royal Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Rameses III., beloved of Osiris, Lord of Everlastingness, ruler of Eternity, great god." Below Anubis is a tawny lion, also couched on a tomb, and intended probably as a similar guardian deity. The same arrangement is found in Queen Ty-ti's tomb (see *Two Theban Queens*). M. G. Legrain

in *Les Annales du Service*, 1907, describes a small statue of grey granite of a certain Mentu-em-hat in Athens National Museum, on which along with a little human figure armed with a knife is sculptured a lion, which M. Legrain identifies with the human guardian at the gate to ward off evil from Mentu-em-hat. This lion may be here performing the same duty, and though he is unarmed he is able by the glance of his eye to repel all intruders. M. Legrain quotes in support of this from Pap. 29, Vatican, the phrase "the gift of the lion fascinator."

On the left the king offers two bowls to ibis-headed Thoth, whose name above his head is "Lord (or Master) of Divine words" (*i.e.*, hieroglyphic writing), and who says: "[I] have given [to thee] thy duration like Ra, and the years of Temu (Toum) Lord of the Two Lands *in* (*sic*) An." The king next appears, *triumphant*, before Horus son of Isis (Greek Harsiesis) whom he adores, and Horus says, "[I] have given to thee an everlastingness in festivals (jubilees) and eternity in sovereignty, thou art as a

sovereign-king in rising and setting like Ra." Towards the corner of the wall the king again appears with both hands held up in adoration. He is again called a "Royal Osiris" or "the Osiris king." This figure of the king properly goes with the left hand half of the scene on the end wall.

Returning to the door we find, on the right hand, a lion-headed demon, probably the counterpart of the lion on the other side. This demon, however, is armed with a long blue knife, and faces the entrance guarding the approach. A similar demon is found in the same position in Queen Ty-ti's tomb (*Two Theban Queens*, p. 100). In both tombs, this engaging personage is styled "Lord of Terrors." Behind this monster is a nude figure of a youth, probably meant for the prince, seated on what looks like a half-inflated red bag, with one hand on his knees while the other clasps the left shoulder. Queen Ty-ti, in her sanctuary, is represented in exactly the same costume and attitude, and resting on a similar bag-like seat. Above the prince's figure are the words "great god

who resteth upon (*i.e.*, exists on, or subsists by) Maat (Truth)," which may be taken as his new or glorified designation: he is now a "great god," and lives like the gods on truth. In the tombs of Renni, Pa-heri, Sennofer, and Menna (see further on), a figure wrapped up in a hide or skin represents, according to Maspero and Naville, the process of arriving at the new birth: "the man passes through the skin of an animal, and this brings him to life again, in the same way that the sun passes through a gigantic serpent in the Twelfth Hour of the night in order to be born again" (*Old Egyptian Faith*, p. 301). Here the bag-like object on which Khaem-Uast rests (as does Queen Ty-ti) in a nude condition is the *skin* from which he has emerged into the new life, as a "great god" to live henceforth on Maat. The *Sem* priest is also represented as playing this part for the deceased.

Beyond the corner the king offers incense and water to a falcon-headed god, who is crowned with a red sun-disc and royal uræus. He is a form of Horus, named *Heru-khenti-*

khet. Lanzone (p. 622) represents him with a crocodile head, taken from a naos in the Louvre, time of Amasis, Dynasty XXVI. The god here promises the king "everlastingness as king, eternity as ruler of the world." Further on he adores another god, human in form, with moon-disc and horns, who is called "The Venerable, the great god," perhaps Toum, and promises "the festivals (hebu) of Ra, the years of Toum." A column in the corner gives the titles and names of the king, "beloved of Osiris, Chief of the Divine Hall, or Dwelling (the Tomb)."

We have now arrived at the culminating scene of the tomb, when from both sides the king, instead of the deceased prince, appears before the great god Osiris and becomes one with him. On the left side, representing the East, the king wears as is proper the white crown of the South; and on the right, the West side, the red crown of the North. Isis, "the great one," with Neith in front of her, on the left; and Serqet "the great one," with Nephthys "mistress of Amentet," in front of her on the right, conduct the king

Tomb of Kha-em-Uast. Osiris.

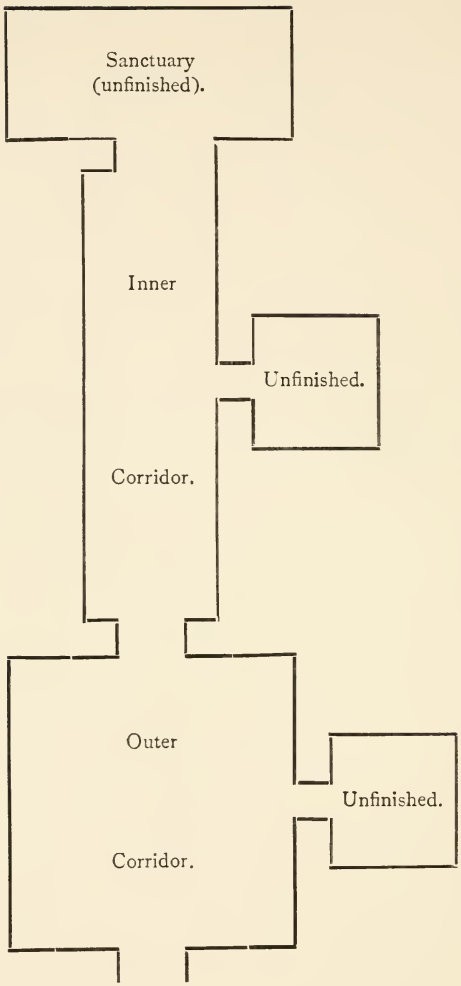
[*To face page* 58.

to the august presence. Isis and Neith have green faces like their husband and brother Osiris, in token of the growth of the new life. As these four were the chief if not the only goddesses who took part in the reconstitution of the dead Osiris and restored him to life, so here they are supposed to perform the same indispensable functions for the deceased, and make him an Osiris living for ever. Osiris, an impressive figure, is enthroned in two capacities, with that love of duplication and symmetry dear to the Egyptians, as "Chief of the Divine Dwelling, great god, Lord of Ament (realm of the dead)," on the left, and as "Chief of the Ament, great god, Lord of everlastingness and eternity." His body, down to the waist is red, indicating living flesh; below that, he is swathed in the white mummy-wrappings, as having been subject to the power of death for a time. His crown is white (of the South) with an ostrich-plume on either side; and he holds the symbols of sovereignty in his hands. His throne is established on "righteousness" (Maat or Truth), and the

symbol of Maat under the throne encloses a pool of clear blue water, from which spring up the lilies or lotus plants among which were born the "four children of Horus," each in mummy form and man-headed on the left, but with their proper heads on the right. They stand before the throne, sometimes facing the deceased, as here; sometimes facing the god. As we look at this picture of water beneath the throne of Osiris and these "four living creatures" of the Egyptian mythology, we can hardly help recalling passages in Revelation (xxii. 1): "And he shewed me a river of water of life bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God;" and "the four living creatures," each with its distinctive head, of iv. 7, 9, vii. 11, etc. The order in which they stand, on the right, are Amset (man-headed), Hapi (baboon-headed), Duamutef (jackal or dog-headed) and Qebhsennuf (falcon-headed). The "four living creatures" in Revelation have respectively the heads of a man, a calf, a lion, and a "flying eagle." The first and the last are clearly the same in both lists. The original is in Ezekiel x. 14.

The last thing to be noted in this scene is the central column of hieroglyphics containing the names and titles of the king, telling us that he, as king, is an "Osiris, *triumphant* and beloved of Osiris Chief of Amentet." The deceased has now attained that perfection of bliss in the hereafter which complete union with the Egyptian god of the spirits of all flesh implies.

TOMB OF AMEN-KHEPESHF
No. 55.


Sanctuary
(unfinished).
Inner
Unfinished.
Corridor.
Outer
Unfinished.
Corridor.

TOMB OF AMEN-KHEPESHF

Outer Corridor.

From the more unfinished condition of this tomb we conclude that it had been begun later in the reign of Rameses III. than the tomb of Kha-em-Uast. Amen-khepeshf (for so the name is written throughout the tomb), according to the Medinet Habu List was born after Kha-em-Uast; but he also died young, as he is constantly represented in his tomb as a boy.

On the left, entering, the first picture shows the king, who is again designated *maa kherou* for the same reason as in Tomb 44, and the goddess Isis embracing, while behind the king is a figure of the Ibis-headed god Thoth, the recorder and scribe of the gods, writing on a palette. The mutilated inscription says: "Thoth writes down for thee festivals. . . ." Isis is called the "great

divine mother" or "great mother goddess," and as such wears the vulture head-dress. The cartouches of the king are the same as in K.'s tomb. Towards the corner the prince appears, but he forms part of the next scene, where the king (along the left-hand wall) adores the god Ptah. The prince is dressed like his brother, and like him, too, carries a fan of a single ostrich-plume, though nowhere in the tomb is he styled "fan-bearer." A column in front gives his offices and name: "Royal Scribe, Overseer (Master) of the horses[1] of R.'s chariot-station, royal son of his body whom he loves, Amen-khepeshf, triumphant." In Medinet Habu he is called simply "Fan bearer on the right hand of the king, royal son of his body, whom he loves, Rameses (uncartouched) Amen-her-khepeshf, triumphant." The differences have been already dealt with. The king offers incense to the god and says, as he sprinkles grains on the censer: "The giving of divine fragrance (incense) to Father Ptah-khenti-nenen-it: he does the giving as [a]

[1] The Egyptians had no cavalry.

king (?)." Ptah is in a latticed shrine, with green face and blue crown, and holds *user*, *ankh*, and *dad* joined in one, in front. The name of the god here given resembles one in Lanzone's list (p. 248), which seems to mean "Ptah-khenti prince of Ta-nenen."

Another group of the king, followed by his son, being welcomed by the god Ptah occurs further on. New titles are added to A. here: "Hereditary prince (*erpat*), son of the Overlord of the Two Lands, Royal Scribe, master of the horses of the station of Rameses III., Royal Son Amen-khepeshf, *triumphant*." The Ptah figure, wearing an *atef* crown, is portrayed as a man walking—an uncommon representation. He is here quite clearly named "Ptah Ta-nen," and he is described as "father of the gods." In return for the king's homage he says: "[I] have given to thee festivals numerous and great (said twice), and sovereignty like Horus-son-of-Isis."

A third group of three takes us on another stage. The jackal-headed Duamutef, whose feet are turned inwards, welcomes the king

by the hand; the prince follows with ostrich-plume fan as before. He is again styled "Hereditary prince, and Royal Son, etc.," but *ur-tep* (great chief) is added to "Overseer (master) of the horses of his majesty." The name is still Amen-khepeshf. The two funeral deities on this side are Duamutef and Amset, and on the opposite wall Qebhsennuf and Hapi. Duamutef says: "Worthy before Duamutef is the Osiris king, Lord of Diadems, R. III., triumphant (repeated in the long column), [I] bring to thee thy births coming forth from thy members, [I] have given them to thee. . . ."

A fourth group leads to the corner: the king and the prince before Amset, who welcomes them and conducts them onwards towards the glorification in the inner chamber. The interesting part here is the designation of Amen-khepeshf. The inscription in full reads: "Hereditary prince, son of the Overlord of the Two Lands, royal son of his body whom he loves, born of the Divine Spouse, the Divine mother, the great Royal Wife, Royal Scribe, Overseer of the horses,

Ptah. The Prince and the King received by Ptah and by Duamutf.

Tomb of Amen-khepeshf.

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Tomb of Amen-khepeshf. The Prince and the King conducted by Isis.

[To face page 69.

Royal Son, Amen-khepeshf, *triumphant*." Unfortunately, the new information tantalisingly stops short; the mother's name is not mentioned (quite like R.'s way!), and one of the problems of the king's family still remains unsolved. Amset's speech is "Worthy before Amset is the Osiris king, etc.," which is repeated in the corner, with the addition, "[I] bring to thee thy brethren the gods, and have made for thee funereal chambers in abundance (?) . . ."

The final stage on this side is reached when Isis takes the king, followed by the prince as before, by the hand and walks with him towards the inner chamber. The goddess is designated "great mistress of Amentet." The king is most elaborately attired, and bears his name on his belt as well as above his head. The prince's inscription again alludes to his mother as "the great Royal Spouse, Lady of the Two Lands," but her name is again withheld. Isis grants to the king "the duration of Ra, and the years of Temem (Toum)."

Returning to the entrance, we now take

the right-hand wall. On the thickness of the doorway, as on the opposite side, we have a kneeling figure of the goddess Maat with one wing uplifted, facing outwards. The inscription reads: "Goddess, daughter of Ra, to the Osiris king, Lord of Diadems, R. triumphant." Then round the corner we find parts of a scene which we could have wished had escaped the destroyer's hand. What remains reminds one of the scenes in the Pavilion at Medinet Habu, where the king is amusing himself with his ladies. Here, however, it must be a goddess that affectionately greets the king, probably Nephthys, to balance Isis on the other side.

Beyond this there is a remnant of the figure of the prince following his father (destroyed), with parts of an inscription: "R.'s chariots (?), royal son of his body, whom he loves. . . ."

The two last figures, like the corresponding ones on the opposite side, are intended to pay homage to a deity (face and name are destroyed) who holds *ankh* and *user*, and wears a red crown. The beginning of

his speech is lost, but it seems he granted the king all western as well as "all eastern lands to be under thy feet, and the Nine Bows (the 'auld enemies' of the Egyptians). . . ."

Another trio—the king, again elaborately attired, and the prince, being welcomed by the god Shu—occupies the wall on this side of the door leading into the right-hand unfinished chamber. The king offers a bowl of burning incense to the god, as the inscription above and below their clasped hands states, "the giving of divine fragrance (incense) to . . . Shu, he (the king) hath caused it and made it as a great sovereign (in great sovereignty?). . . ." Shu (or rather Shu-t, in the text) is here styled "son of Ra"; and, according to the philological mythology so dear to the Egyptian mind, Shu was the product or issue (ashesh) of Khepera, like Tefnet ("what is spit?") his sister. Shu also means *radiance*, *light*, as well as *to be dry*, which is connected by the ancient Egyptian etymologists with *shu-t*, a feather; and so we are led delightfully on

to understand why a feather stands on the god's head, which may also account for the spelling of his name here. This is but another punning instance of the puzzling nature of Egyptian mythology.

The doorway of the unfinished chamber, lintel, and jambs are decorated in the usual way, the winged Horus of Behudet (Edfu) on the lintel, and the names and titles of the king on both jambs. On the right he was evidently called "beloved of Hathor, Mistress of Amentet," while on the left he is said to be "beloved of Mer-segert, daughter of Amentet."

Beyond the door, as far as the corner, the prince does not appear. The omission is due to the break in the wall, but, of course, the king could not be left out! He is now taken in hand, first by Qebhsennuf, and then by Hapi, the remaining pair of the funeral deities, and conducted onwards to the inner chamber, as the god's feet indicate. The inscriptions are similar to those on the opposite side: "Worthy before Qebhsennuf is the Osiris king, etc. . . . and worthy

Tomb of Amen-khepeshf. Shu welcoming the King and the Prince.

[To face page 12.

before Hapi, etc." Qebhsennuf, like Harmachis in the other tomb, adds "[I] bring to thee those that are in heaven [I] bring to thee those that are on earth." Behind the king are the signs of magical "protection, life around him of every kind, all joy [of heart] like Ra, for evermore eternally." And Hapi adds his quota in the corner column: "[I] bring to thee thy divine births, that come forth from thy members [&] have made for thee funereal chambers. . . ."

The goddess Hat-hor (Het-heru, House of Horus), like Isis on the other side, now leads the king and his son into the inner mysteries of the life beyond. The full titles and name of the prince are given as before, but his mother is mentioned no more. Both the king and he are represented as "triumphant." Hat-hor is called "Mistress of Amentet," and repeats the wearisome promise "[I] have given to thee everlastingness in festivals (hebu), eternity in life and strength."

On the jambs of the doorway leading into the inner corridor are the words "given

as a favour on the part of the sovereign ruler, the lord of the Two Lands, son of Ra, lord of diadems, R. III. the great royal births."

The Inner Corridor.

On the left and right thicknesses of the door are figures of the two Osirian sisters, Isis and Nephthys respectively. Isis is "the great divine mother" and Nephthys is "Mistress of the West"; both greet Rameses by name as the "Royal Osiris." Over their hands are the signs *n-n* (properly *ni-ni*) originally indicating *ceremonial washing*, and therefore implying *worship*, *homage*, or *adoration*. The symbols are often thus seen over the hands of the king or a god on entering a sacred room, and may refer to the ablution required before doing so.

Round the corner on both sides, as in the other tomb, we have two Anmutf priests, youthful but bearded, which is rather incongruous, facing towards the entrance, to perform their filial functions to the deceased, like Horus, the restorer (reconstructor) of his

father. Each says he is the "Horus Anmutf of the Osiris Sovereign Ruler, Lord of diadems R. triumphant for (*kher*) eternity."

And now the king and the prince have to "make a way" (arrive) at the various pylons or rooms of the House of Osiris towards union with that great god. As in K.'s tomb, the king is the magic spokesman here also, acting as a god possessed of the quality of *maa kherou*. The pylons shown here are Nos. 5, 6 on the right side, and 7, 8 and $6+x$ (destroyed) on the left. They are the first of the series that is continued in Kha-em-Uast's Tomb. We begin with Pylon 5. The prince who is called "Hereditary son, royal scribe, Great overseer of the horses, royal son Amen-khepeshf," stands with hands down reverently behind his father, who is to pronounce properly the magic words before him. The sides of the pylon are decorated with "Crowned Horus, Mighty Bull, great of sovereignty, king of South and of North, Lord of the Two Lands, R. III. he is *maa kherou*, for (kher) eternity."

The guardian deity of the pylon is jackal-headed and has two blue knives: his name is Henb-requ (for Henti-reqau?) *coercer of the rebels* (Naville): *henb* means *to remove; henti*, to repulse.

> "Flame for the nostrils, splendour, (*khutet* with det. of *fire*), lady of loud praises, Neb-er-tcher (the Inviolate One, said of Osiris: the word here is masc.) supplications are made to her, to whom no one (*un-tepf*, so also pap. of Ani) approaches is the name Henb-requ is the name of the god who keeps the door. I have washed in the water in which Horus washed when he acted as *kher-heb* (chief reader or director of ceremonies) [and] Semerf (beloved son) for [his] Father Osiris. I am anointed with *aber* ointment of divine things (offerings), and have put upon me the leopard skin (of the priest); the rod I have [is] for smiting the rebels" (*khaku; cf.* Inscription of Aahmes son of Abana, l., 23, *khaku-abu*, wicked hearts). "Pass on, then, thou; thou art pure."

The king alone now advances to Pylon 6, but between him and it, is the entrance to the undecorated chamber where we have on lintel and side posts the words partly obliterated, "Given as a favour by the king, etc." The pylon is guarded by a green, ram-headed demon with human body, and armed as usual. This personage rejoices in the name of Uniter (?). The word seems defectively written, Sa-ti. The description of the lady within is :—

> "Lady of homage (*kes*, with det. of man bowing), great one of roarings, not known is her height beyond (*r*) her breadth (*i.e.*, neither is known), not found is her like (*qet*, builder, for *qed*, character, disposition) since the beginning (*m sep tep* from the first time), not known how great is the number of those (no trace of 'serpents') that are on their bellies upon her, born was *he* (masc. pron. with det. of a god) in presence of Urdu-Ab (Quiet Heart), goddess is the name [S]ati is the name of the god that keeps the door.

I have washed in the water in which Thoth washed when he acted as Tchat (Vizier?) of Horus, I am anointed with his *akha* (akha-f) ointment, I am clothed with *thesten* raiment, the rod I have is of *sepd* wood." "Pass on, then, thou; thou art pure."

Below this magic speech, as well as on the opposite wall, is a large winged serpent, with eight coils, confronting the sign for life.

Pylon 7 is at the door on the left side. Here the royal pair continue their progress. The guardian god has a cow's or bull's head. His name is Aukenti. The name in Pap. of Nu, chap. 146 is Akenti; Naville (Continuation of Renouf's Trans., p. 293) gives Akesti; while the Pap. of Iouiya, pl. xxi. (Naville) undoubtedly reads Akenti. The doorkeeper of Pylon 7, as given in chap. 145 is Am-Neith. The meaning of Aukenti or Akenti is unknown. The "words of magic power" spoken by the king are as follows:—

"'Shroud (*akhepit*, with det. of *sky*, plural, a confusion with word for *robe*, or *covering;* the word in Naville's

Iouiya is *akhekhit*, robe) that enwraps her dead, wailings (perhaps *mourning women*, Isis and Nephthys) for her love, hiding the body' is the name Aukenti is the name of the god that keeps the door. I have washed in the water in which Neith (nt) and Isis washed, with Nephthys, when they passed (*bes sen* their passing) the crocodile at the opening (mouth) of the place of purification, I am anointed with *hekennu* ointment, I am covered (*shet*, det. of clothing) with *unkhit* raiment. My rod is as a paddle." "Pass on then, thou; thou art pure."

The king and the prince now arrive at another pylon. Pylon 8 is guarded by a vulture-headed deity, dressed and armed like the others. His name is Khut-zetf, Protector of his body. In the text (from chap. 146) the pylon is numbered eighth, but part of the description of the lady within is unquestionably taken from the text of Pylon 9, chap. 145. There is, it will be remembered, a similar mixing of texts in Pylon 9, in

Kha-em-Uast's tomb. The lady here is sufficiently attractive :—

> " 'Blazing flames, unquenchable are her fires, orbit (*shenit*) that is furnished with tongues of flames, she that shoots forth [her] hand (*det.*), slaying and not to be gainsaid (*without mercy*, Naville), no one comes near her for fear of injury' is the name Khut-zetf (Protector of his body) is the name of the god that keeps the door. I have washed in the water in which the Ram, Lord of Dadu, washed, from *shept* (with det. of *vileness* Pierret Voc. 580) to his limbs all over. I am anointed with *ant* ointment, and burial (?) *ankh* unguent. I am clothed with a *daaun* garment (*cf.* chap. 82 : 8). My rod is of *benen* wood." "Pass on, then, thou ; thou art pure."

The same name, Khut-zetf, of the door-keeper is above his head.

The last scene, which was meant for another pylon, is very much injured. It was probably No. 9, but it cannot be definitely said, as only six strokes of the numeral

remain. The beginning of the "words of magic power" with the names of the king are all that survive. The *maa kherou* after the cartouches over his head is again accidentally omitted; and the prince, for the last time, is styled "Royal Scribe, Overseer of the horses of R.'s chariot-station, Royal Son, Amen-khepeshf, *triumphant*." On the opposite side the prince worships the name of his father.

The inner sanctuary is unfinished, having nothing but the first rough coat of plaster laid on; while on the right thickness of the door are the unpainted head and shoulders of the goddess Nephthys who is looking outwards, waiting to greet the king and his boy who never came. The work was probably stopped by the king's death, and we are not permitted to witness the lad's glorification and union with Osiris: and so we leave him with upraised hand in adoration of his father's "name," one more "inheritor of unfulfilled renown."

THE TOMB OF MENNA

ROYAL LAND-STEWARD

No. 69

Sheikh abd el Gourneh.

TOMB OF MENNA

THE tomb or mortuary chapel of Menna, No. 69, Sheikh abd el Gourneh, on the hill behind the tomb of Nekht, dates probably from Dynasty XVIII. He calls himself Scribe and Overseer of the Estate of the king, as well as the king's "two eyes in every place." Who the king was is not known, as no name is mentioned; but from the fact that in most, but not in all, places the name of the god Amen has been erased, Menna flourished most probably before Khu-en-aten (Amenhotep IV., *c.* 1380 B.C.). His sister-wife is named Henut-taoui, and was a chantress (*qemat*) of Amen; they had two sons, one a Uab (libation) priest called Kha; another, Sa; and at least three daughters.

As we enter, on the left, Menna, facing outwards followed by his wife and a child,

adores the setting sun; on the right he faces inwards.

On the left wall of the outer chamber we have the daily occupation of Menna portrayed, —the superintendence of agricultural work. At the upper corner he is seated on a camp stool, watching without being able to see—as the eye has been maliciously removed by some enemy—the work of his men, as the inscription says: "He delights himself with the labours of the fields—he who greatly satisfies the Lord of the Two Lands in [his] desire . . . the king's two eyes in every place, the Overseer of the Estate, [Men]na, triumphant before the great god." There are four rows of pictures; a figure of Menna presiding over each pair. The lower one represents him as "Diverting the heart by beholding happiness in thy hall of triumph [*maa kherou*], thou that satisfiest . . . excellently of his lord, the favourite of the good god (the king), the Scribe, the Overseer of the tillage . . . Menna." Before him are three daughters, the first two, with marvellous head-dresses, playing sistrums, which the

Tomb of Menna. Measuring the Crop and the Grain. [*See pages* 87, 88.

[*To face page* 86.

Tomb of Menna. The Sistrum Players.

[To face page 88.

father touches approvingly. The first daughter is "she whom he loves, the favourite of Hat-hor, the royal ornament, beloved of her (?) lord . . . Henut;" the second is "she whom he loves, favourite . . . hem-ta, triumphant." She appears to have been dead. The third is also "his beloved, Kasi."

The lowest row shows the beginning of operations, heaps of seed grain, ploughing, digging, and sowing etc., a tired man asleep under a tree, a girl taking a thorn out of another's foot, heaps of flax that has just been pulled; the next row above, the reaping and harvesting of the grain, a girl gleaning, two girl gleaners tearing each other's hair, a woman giving a man a drink from a jar, man resting under a tree, another playing on a pipe, reapers with hooks, etc. Notice that only the ears of grain are shorn off, the whole straw being left. The two upper rows show the measuring of the grain still standing, with under-scribes to take note of the amount, a boy carrying the scribe's materials; servants bringing provisions, etc. Towards

the end Menna, who is called "scribe of the estates of the Lord of the Two Lands of South and North," and whose name remains intact, stands in a pavilion, receiving for his master through a servant, foreigners who have landed from a ship bringing gold in rings, and other gifts: below, a delinquent is being bastinadoed, while his wife intercedes for him. In the next row below, near the door, Menna's chariot, with its span of red-and-white horses, stands waiting for him; further on, scribes are tallying the measured grain, the winnowing of which Menna in another pavilion has just superintended. Here again his name is left untouched.

The opposite wall is entirely gone, except the remains of two pairs of seated figures of Menna and his wife. She is named "Henut-taoui (Mistress of the Two Lands), his sister, lady of the house." Under her chair, upper row, her husband's writing palette and scribe's bag are lying, while beneath the lower chair are articles peculiarly her own, a metal-mirror and a cosmetic pot and brush.

Tomb of Menna.

"Field Operations."

[*To face page* 88.

The end wall represents the adoration of Osiris by Menna and his wife, followed by two servants. The green face of Osiris, who is called "Asar Un-nefer great god, sovereign ruler, lord of everlastingness, maker (? *ar-t*) of eternity," betokens the vegetative growth of the next life. His throne rests on Maat (Truth). Menna makes abundant offerings, including the leg, head, and ribs of an ox, birds, fruit, cakes, jars of liquor, etc., while underneath we have a long row of priests making an undoubted burnt offering of similar gifts. To the right, a priest puts some inflammable stuff on the pile, from which the flames rise.

Another burnt offering like this is also made to Osiris in the inner corridor. The action of Menna here is said to be:— "Giving praise to Asar-en-ta-Unn-nefer by the scribe, the overseer of the field-labours (?) . . . [Menn]a: saith he, I have come to thee; my heart is Maat (truth) within its breast, [my] heart has no falsehood in it. Grant thou . . . in the Sacred Land a soul for ever, to him the Overseer of the

Estates of the Lord of the Two Lands. Saith he; I give thee praise, I exalt thee, may thy beauties grow and flourish; grant thou peace in the beautiful Amentet, among the favoured ones (?) of thy Ka." Two columns at the end are left uninscribed. Over his wife: "His sister, lady of the house, chantress [of Amen], Henut-taoui, triumphant before the great god."

Passing to the other wing, we have next the door two large figures of Menna and his wife, the former offering two braziers with an offering of birds,[1] the smoke of the incense curling above them. The inscription is "Making an offering (uthen) of everything good and pure, incense [*lit.* divine fragrance, the burning resin of the Aleppo pine] full (senem) altars of incense [to Amen] Ra,

[1] Since the above was written I have seen M. Jequier's article in the *Recueil des Travaux*, vol. xxxii. 166-169. It is by no means certain, at least so far as the Tomb of Menna is concerned, that this is a case of burnt-offering like the other two burnt-offerings in this tomb, which he might as easily have adduced. In the instance before us it is not flames, but only the smoke of incense that rises from the geese.

Tomb of Menna. Worship of Osiris: A Burnt-offering.

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king of the gods, Heru-khuti (Harmachis) to Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, to Hat-hor, mistress of the Western Hills [by] the Overseer of the field-workers . . . overseer of the Estates of the Lord of the Two Lands [Menn]a, triumphant." In front of his wife the only words left are "His sister, lady of the house. . . ."

Near the top an interesting remnant of an inscription on a lower coat of plaster, "Making the offering that is due" suggests the question whether Menna had not usurped the tomb.

Behind, in two rows, are a whole train of sons and daughters, with male and female servants bringing abundant offerings of all kinds for Menna to present. His two sons head the upper row; the first is Sa, scribe of the grain [? of Amen], and he says, "Lo, I bring every kind of good flower, first-fruits (?) of Amen"; the second is Kha. Then follow servants with grain, flowers, grapes, etc. Three daughters named Uy, Nofera, and Kasi followed by maids, occupy the lower row. The first two are "ladies of the

house, chantresses [of Amen, erased]," and carry sistrums. Further to left, above, Menna and his wife receive a bouquet from a shaven-headed son (?); a space above was meant for an inscription. Beneath the wife's chair are her husband's palette and bag.

The lowest row shows us men and women bringing meat, bread, incense, flowers, wine, animals, etc. to swell the offering of their lord; women are clapping hands, men are slaughtering cattle, and a blind (?) harper makes music. In two places in the fragmentary inscriptions the name "Amen" has escaped destruction.

On the opposite wall, we have Menna and his wife near the door, before a table of offerings. A priest in a panther's skin heads the double row of banquetters; and the couple are represented twice over. In the lowest row are men with a profusion of vases; two carry large fans, and several priests with jars on their shoulders, concentrate towards the end of the wall where Menna and his wife again receive them.

The end wall is entirely religious in

Tomb of Menna. Worship at the Tomb.

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character. The middle of the picture shows the door of the tomb with the tomb-stele standing inside. Its topmost row shows Ra or Horus, with Isis behind him to the right; and Osiris with Hat-hor behind him and Anubis in front; in the middle, two pairs, Menna and his wife, are seated back to back; beneath, two sons, two daughters, and two servants adore something destroyed; while on both sides Menna above and his wife below worship the gods. Columns were prepared for inscriptions. The prayer for funeral offerings on the right doorpost of the tomb is in the names of Horus and Anubis, chief of the divine dwelling (the tomb), for them to give "everything that comes upon their altars to the Ka of the Overseer of the estates of Amen (not destroyed) . . . triumphant." On the left the prayer is to "Osiris, Lord of Dadu (Mendes and Busiris) and Lord of Abydos, for him to give everything that is good and pure, etc. . . . to Menna."

On the left thickness as we enter the inner corridor, Menna faces us; the mutilated

inscription said something about "Ra, to follow in (or with) a good festival; his sister, lady of the house, chantress [of Amen] Henut-taoui." The right thickness is blank.

The Inner Corridor.

The left side is occupied with funeral scenes, ending with the weighing of Menna's heart; the right side depicts ceremonies and processes by which the deceased became possessed of his soul; the mystical voyage to Abydos (the ideal burial place of all good Egyptians); the celestial pastimes of the deceased in fowling and spearing fish; and the continual ministration of his children to him and his wife in celestial banquets. Many of these ceremonies, on both sides, resemble the more elaborate functions shown in the Tomb of Rekhmara, where there are also explanatory texts.

Anubis, on the left-hand wall, superintends the first funeral ceremonies; Hat-hor, above him, the subsequent rites. To Anubis, a boat with three rowers, a look-out and a

steersman, tows a barge containing the sarcophagus across the river: the Two Wailing Sisters, representing Isis and Nephthys, are at the foot and head of the coffin respectively; while three officials, the Kher-heb, the Ut, and the Sem or Setem, guard the body, laying their hands on it. Next come the four caskets, in which the internal organs were embalmed, each casket containing the name of its guardian Qebh-sennuf, Duamutef, Amset or Hapi, as well as the name of Menna (untouched). These caskets would be placed in the tomb. Another is reserved for Anubis, who is called "[Lord of] the Sacred Land." A Kher-heb, with the papyrus roll of the Ritual in his hand addresses a pylon; behind him, two men drag the bier on a sledge, which has just come across on a papyrus boat. A woman and a man are fastening the tow-lines of two boats to a large stake (*menat*—these stakes were deified) driven into the ground; and behind them, towards the door is another boat carrying the stele, to be set up in the tomb.

Above the boats a bull is being slaughtered under the supervision of a Kher-heb and a purifier. The leg and the heart (on a vase) of this bull are seen in the boat at the other end of this row: they were supposed to contain the soul of Menna, for as the soul of Osiris after death was believed to have been eaten up by Set in the form of an animal such as a crocodile, bull, hippo, or gazelle, the slaying of this animal was the means of restoring the soul to the deceased. And to pass through the same animal's skin, as may be seen on the opposite wall, right corner, was the awakening into the new life. The stele again appears with the Two Wailing Sisters. The remains of a dancer's or mummer's legs are also in this row. In Rekhmara's tomb they are called Nemuu, and figure in other funeral processions. Six pylons stand near, probably representing six of the Rooms of the House of Father Osiris.

The presentation to Hat-hor, Mistress of the Western Hills, is seen in the two upper rows. Another voyage is supposed to be

made across the river. A gay flotilla of three barges (three poops remain) tow a boat, in which a large white erection represents the women's apartments. Two mourning women inside are throwing earth on their heads, while in front is the "lady of the principal house" (Tomb of Rekhmara). Beyond the hole in the wall is the land procession, headed by four cattle (one is perhaps a bull), which are dragging the mummy sledge towards "the dwelling of the body," helped by a driver and ten men; then comes an erased figure showing remains of an incense brazier, followed by a solemn Sem priest, carrying an official rod or staff; and behind him is a Wailing Sister, personating Isis or Nephthys, in a conventional attitude of grief, her right hand clutching her left arm. The sledge with the bier is destroyed; remains of men bearing a papyrus boat, with a canopy, may be seen; next, two servants bearing sealed jars, probably of wine; then eight, usually nine, Friends or Smeriu, with slaves; the rest of this procession is lost.

The topmost row depicts the last event,

the servants of Menna carrying the tomb furniture to the feet of Hat-hor. First, four cows, not meant for sacrifice, but as part of the seven sacred kine to afford sustenance, as in Queen Nefert-ari's tomb; next, Menna's document box with his scribe's bag; then another servant with two ushabti figures; others with vases of unguents, oils, etc., a chair, a coffer, a bed, headrest, clothes' trunk, jugs, bouquets and flowers, his fan, bread, fruit, etc.

Menna must now be judged: "the weighing of his heart" before Osiris is shown at the end of the wall. "Asar Un-nefer, Lord of the Sacred Land, the great god, Lord of Eternity" is enthroned in his pavilion which rests on Maat (Truth); Menna confronts him in an agonised posture, awaiting his trial, with his hands convulsively clutching himself: Horus is testing the tongue of the balance to see whether the heart of Menna, in the scale next to him, just balances Maat (Truth) in the other scale, while Thoth above, who is called "He of Khemennu (Hermopolis), true scribe," records the

Tomb of Menna. The Weighing of Menna's Heart.

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sentence. The disfiguration of Menna, here and elsewhere, as Mr Weigall has pointed out, was designed by some enemy to render invalid every act of his in the next world. Menna, in the hieroglyphic text, appeals to his heart, which has been separated from him, to stand by him at the weighing and not to bear testimony against him, and to be restored to him. These are the words of his magic speech: "The scribe of the estate of the Lord of the Two Lands, Menna (partly erased) triumphant, saith he: O my heart of (that came from) my mother, O my heart of my mother, O my heart of my existence (manifestations), rise not up against me, with the keeper [of the balance] as a witness against me; be not an enemy against me before the divine powers, cause not thou a fall [of the scale] against me in the presence of the keeper of the balance, thou who art my Ka that is in my body. The Moulder [the god Khnum] hath made sound my limbs: come thou forth [to] the happiness that we go to; pleasant it is for thee, pleasant the hearing [on] the day of weighing of words."

This "weighing of words" and "weighing of hearts" are frequently referred to in the Old Testament Scriptures. Perhaps the oldest references are in the Books of Job and Proverbs. Job (xxi. 6), in defence, prays "to be weighed in a even balance" if he has walked with lies or deceit: in Prov. (xvi. 2) we read "All the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes, but the Lord weigheth the spirits;" xxi. 2, "But the Lord weigheth the hearts;" xxiv. 12, "Doth not he that weigheth the hearts consider it?" and the solemn doom of Belshazzar is pronounced in "Tekel [weighed], thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting" (Dan. v. 27).

Another burnt offering below accompanies the weighing.

On the opposite wall we have the Ritual connected with the Opening of the Mouth and of giving food to the deceased, as well as the mystic voyage to and from Abydos, ending with the other-world pastimes and *Ka* banquets of Menna and his wife, supplied by his family.

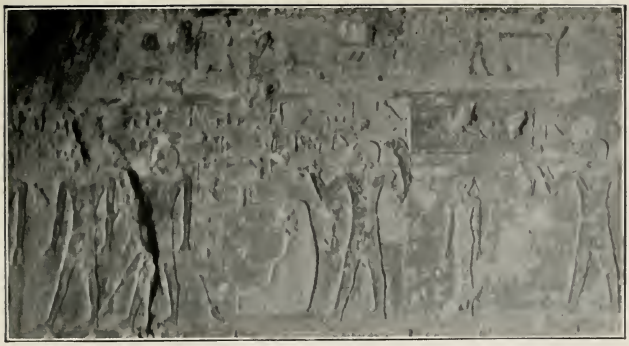
The lowest row shows the usual garlanded,

black-spotted cow and calf being led along, here by an old bald-headed negro (?); men follow with flowers, cakes, etc., and women with vases and flowers, etc., men with jars and flowers, and finally a youth with another black-spotted calf.

The two middle rows represent the deceased coming to life, and the opening of the mouth of the deceased. In Rekhmara's tomb these ceremonies are performed before Osiris. The figure, second lowest row near the door, wrapped up in the skin of the slaughtered bull, is seen waking up or struggling into life in front of the mummy and the priest. The mummy represents the body of the deceased; the figure in the skin is the Sem priest personating the soul of the deceased. This skin is called Mesekt or Mesket in Rekhmara's tomb, and may be seen also in "The Gardener's Tomb," Sen-nofer's; and every deceased person must "pass through the place of the skin" before entering on the next life: "to pass through the animal's skin" was the means of having the deceased's soul restored to him. Here

the Sem priest at the call of the Am-as priest (behind the mummy) "My father, my father!" wakens up, and says "I was lying down and one roused me; I was asleep and one touched me" (*Book of Opening of the Mouth*). In this way Osiris had passed by death from the mortal to the immortal life, and every one, god and man alike, must similarly follow the same course.

Further along to the left we have other ceremonies connected with the now vivified mummy, where the Sem (generally destroyed, maliciously) and the Am-as priests appear with the mummy between them. Bandlets or strips of cloth are offered wherewith the deceased may be magically protected as well as clothed; and the last two scenes in this row show the deceased being offered something like two small oval objects (perhaps *abet*, see *Book of Opening the Mouth*, i., 86) which are passed before his mouth, not yet opened. The opening takes place in the next row above, beginning at the door, but unfortunately the first act is destroyed; in the next the deceased is offered something



Tomb of Renni, El Kab.

Sen-Nofer's Tomb.

Tomb of Menna.

The Dead Waking to Life.

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like a basket (?); further to left, the mouth is slit open by the priest's finger (figure destroyed, end of finger left); after which the instrument Ur-hekau is applied to give the deceased "words of magic power": the next ceremony is destroyed; but the priest stands behind the Sem, with his papyrus roll to recite the necessary formula; further on, the leg of the slaughtered bull is offered to the deceased, and the last ceremony shows the priest offering a cake from a bowl.

At the end of these two rows the mummy is received at the tomb by a priest personating Anubis.

In the ideal voyage to and from Abydos, the large boat to the right towing the images of Menna and his wife in a pavilion carries models of tomb furniture to be laid in the ideal tomb: the men are rowing down stream. The boat to the left in full sail is going home, up stream, and the crew are taking their ease. One man leans over the side to scoop up water to drink.

The rest of the wall is occupied with pleasing pictures of the other-world joys of

Menna and his family. These are conventional representations, found in some of the earliest tombs known, and persisted in almost to the last. In papyrus boats, Menna, with his admiring wife, throws boomerangs at other-world birds in the marshes; birds' nests with eggs, for which a cat and an ichneumon are making, lie among the reeds; celestial butterflies tempt celestial birds; while to the right Menna spears two fish at once with a double-headed spear, in a pool beyond the boats. Both shooting and spearing are marred by his mean enemy. The *Ka* banquets, which are meant to be eternal, are shown last of all in two divisions. Menna and his wife, twice over, are seated before tables loaded with good things, which he strikes with his rod to make real (?). He is served by his two sons—one above, Kha; and one below, Sa (destroyed), followed by his daughters. The text above Menna reads "May everything that comes forth in presence of all the gods that are in Neter-khert (the other world) be for the *Ka* of the Scribe of the Estate of the Lord of the Two

Tomb of Menna. Other-world Sports.

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Lands, [Menn]a: his sister, lady of the house, chantress [of Amen, erased], Henut-taoui." The fare as provided in the *menu* table is of the usual conventional type: the numbers, measures, and quantities of the various good things, among which are wine, geese, beer, fruit, etc., are recorded. It was enough that all this should be painted on the wall to secure their everlasting provision. Above the son, top row, are the words: "His son, the *uab* (purifier) priest Kha. Saith he: making a *suten-da-hotep* (offering) pure (repeated) to his father and mother, of bread, liquor, oxen, geese, everything good and pure, cool water, and wine." A sister follows offering "milk" with vases of unguents and flowers.

The lower pair is waited on by the other son Sa (destroyed) followed by two sisters. The offering is made in the name of "Osiris that he may give [and Menna] receive *senu* bread, that comes forth before the pure flame (?) on the altar of Ra, for the *Ka* of the Scribe of the Estate of the Lord, etc., Menna (name preserved). His sister, lady of the

house, chantress [of Amen, Hen]ut-taoui." Over the son's head: "His son, whom he loves, Sa: saith he, thousands of loaves, jars (of liquor), oxen, geese, thousands of everything, cool water, wine." The daughters offer a vase and bouquets of flowers.

The niche at the end of the corridor contains the remains of a Ka statuette of Menna and his wife, to which two ministrants on either side bring offerings "of everything good to the Osiris, great god . . ." the rest of the inscription in a column below the offering probably contained the title and name of Menna. He is now called an "Osiris" and "great god," and so we leave him.

Tomb of Khaem-Uast.

Pylon X

p. 44

[Cartouches of R III]

Name of guardian

Tomb of K.

Pylon XII p.49

Name of guardian

Salutation of R. III

Inscription above the Prince in the Sanctuary

Salutation of R. III

Tomb of K. Pylon XVI p. 53

Name of guardian

Tomb of K Pylon IX p. 42 — Name of guardian

Salutation of RIII

Tomb of
K.
Pylon
XI

Name of
guardian

Name and Title of
K.
on unfinished pylon

(p. 51)

Salu-
ta-
tion
of
RIII

Tomb of K. Pylon XV p. 51

Name of guardian

Salu-ta-tion of R III

Salutation of RIII

Tomb of Amen-Khepesf Pylon V p. 76

Name of guardian

Salutation of R.III
Tomb of A. Pylon VI p.77
Name of guardian
Reference to A?s birth (p.68)

Salutation of R. III

Tomb of A. Pylon III

p. 78

Name of guardian

Tomb of A. Pylon VIII h. 80 = Name of guardian

Salutation of R.

Name of A. on outer corridor, left side.

h. 66

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